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PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

A

FULL AND ACCURATE

REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING

HELD AT THE

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN,

On MONDAY, the 1st of MAY, 1809,

RELATIVE TO

A REFORM

IN THE

Commons House of Parliament.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart.

IN THE CHAIR.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. H. HART, AT THE INDEPENDENT WHIG OFFICE,
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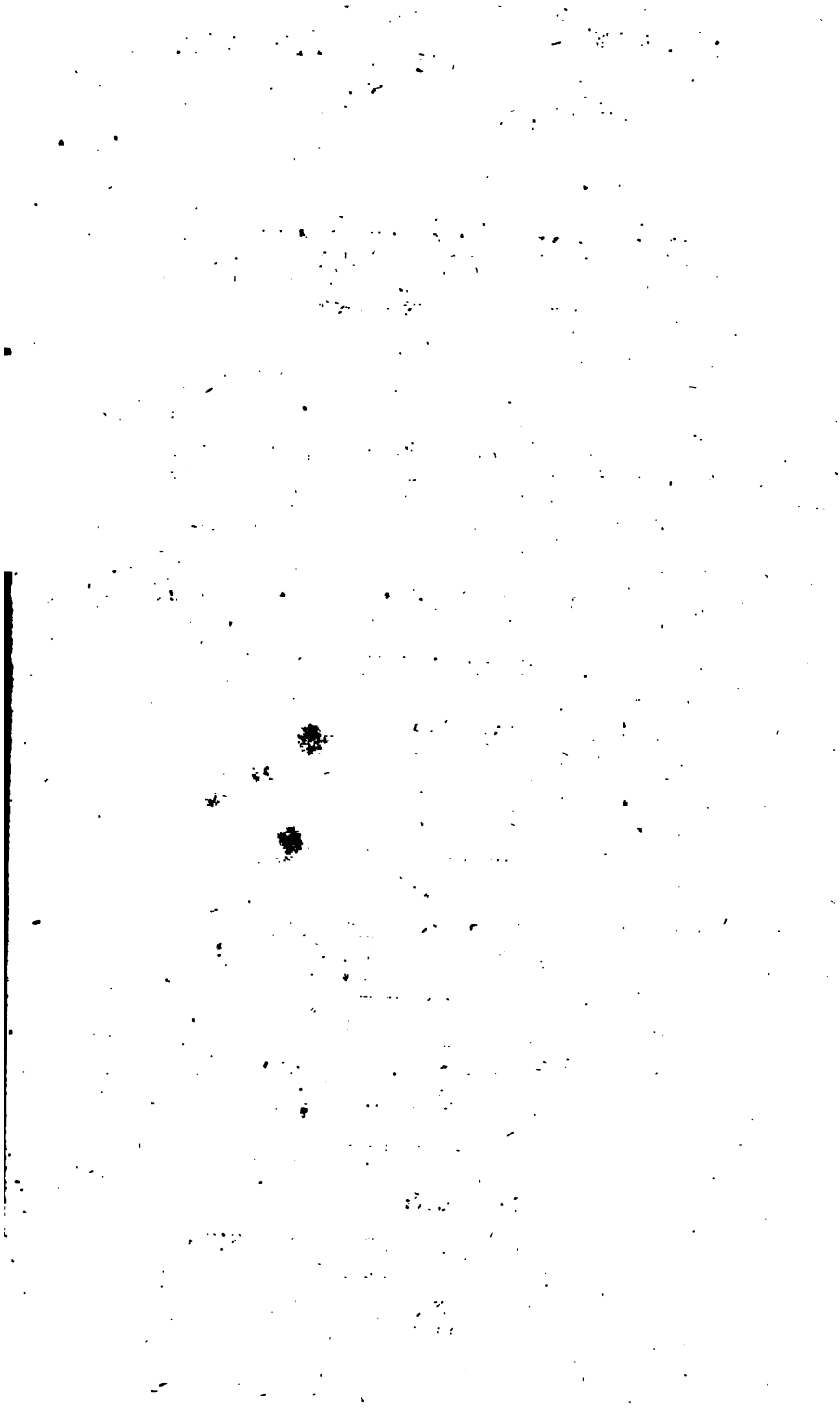
1809.



MEETING

AT THE

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN,

MAY 1, 1809.

THE dispersion of the clouds of corruption, and the dawn of the day of reform, constitute an era in the history of the country, which identifies the Patriots of 1809 with those whose energies produced the glorious Revolution of 1688.—The firm basis of liberty and political freedom has partially yielded to the dilapidations of time—but the fabric itself being sound, and the foundation unshaken, it requires, in order to be renovated, only those exertions, of which the proceedings we are about to record, furnish the first example.

In consequence of the following advertisement, the Friends of Parliamentary Reform were convened at the Crown and Anchor Tavern.

THE Friends of such a Reform as would secure to the Nation the reality and uses of a Representation in Parliament, will dine together at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, London, on Monday, the 1st Day of May, 1809.—Dinner on Table at Five o'Clock precisely.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Bart. M.P. in the Chair.

STEWARDS.

Anglesea and Flintshire	G. L. Wardle, Esq. M.P.
Cambridgeshire	Ebenezer Hollick, Esq.
Carnarvonshire	W. A. Madocks, Esq. M.P.
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Westminster	Rt. Hon. Lord Cochrane, M. P.
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	F. Glossop, Esq.
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	John Payne, Esq.
OF THE COMMITTEE	John Cartwright, Esq. *Chairman.*
	Samuel Brooks, Esq. *Treasurer.*
	Wm. Frend, Esq.
	Wm. Sturch, Esq.

Tickets, 12s. 6d. each, to be had at the Bar of the Tavern, and of the Treasurer, 110, Strand.

The Treasurer will receive Contributions for giving the proceedings in this Cause an extensive publication.

J. W. BROOKS, SEC. *pro. tem.*

The circumstance of the chair being to be filled by Sir F. Burdett, the expected attendance of Lord Cochrane, Mr. Wardle, and other popular characters, among whom were many who officiated as Stewards upon the occasion, excited such uncommon interest, that, before three o'clock, five guineas were offered for tickets of admission.—1200 tickets were issued, and as every one wished to obtain a seat in the great room, which could only contain about two-thirds, the pressure, when the doors were opened, was beyond description. Not only was every seat immediately occupied, but all the avenues between the tables were filled up—so that it was for some time impossible even for the attendants to pass and repass. The great doors were then with difficulty closed, and numbers were of course excluded. The gallery was filled with ladies, who were admitted to view the ceremony of the meeting.

At five o'clock, Sir Francis Burdett, the Chairman, was announced, and after a passage had been made for him he proceeded to the upper end of the room, followed by Lord Cochrane, Mr. Wardle, and Mr. Madocks. From the moment they entered till they were seated, the plaudits were incessant. The company then sat down to an excellent dinner.

After the cloth was removed, Sir Francis Burdett requested the company to sit as close as possible, and he ordered the great doors to be again thrown open, in order that the whole company might witness the proceedings.—Order being obtained,

SIR F. BURDETT, standing upon the table, said, "I will give you for the *first toast, the person most* interested in the promotion of the measure we have

———." He was prevented from proceeding, and a long interval elapsed before silence could be procured—he then said, "I will beg leave once more to propose to you, as a toast, the person who is the most interested in the measure we have met this day to promote—

"The King, and the principles which seated his Family on the Throne"—with three times three.—(*Incessant plaudits.*)

After a short interval Sir Francis Burdett stood up again and said, "The next toast I propose to you is that of those persons most nearly interested in the redress of the unconstitutional corruptions of the country, I mean "the People."—(*Bravo! loud acclamations.*)—The toast was called for and drunk with three times three standing.

The next toast given was—

"The progress of public opinion."

Sir Francis Burdett again standing forth, addressed the company as follows: "Gentlemen, having had the honour on this occasion of being called to the Chair, it becomes my duty to open to this numerous and respectable assembly of people the business of the day. Gentlemen, it is a measure of the first importance in every point of view—it is a measure of the greatest magnitude, which we have met this day purposely to attempt to promote. If there is any thing which can be offered to the attention and is most worthy of observation of the enlightened assembly I have the honour of addressing, it is a measure of such importance, as the one upon which I am addressing you, both as it concerns the security of the Throne, and the happiness and the liberties of the People.—(*Loud Applause*)—The measure of Reform in Parliament, is in itself now become so familiar to the enlightened part of the community, that I should think I was unnecessarily taking up the time of this meeting, which has honoured me by placing me in the chair on this occasion, if I attempted to make the question plainer than it must appear to their own minds, or force a conviction of that, which their attendance here this day proves they are amply and fully convinced of. (*Plaudits.*) And, Gentlemen, if I feel any difficulty upon this great and important subject of Parliamentary Reform, it is that sort of difficulty which one never fails to feel, when we are put as it were to make that evident by reasoning, which must appear evident to every man at first sight, as a first principle. It is as evidently true, as that day is day, and night is night, and it is unnecessary to attempt to prove the proposition. It is equally evident, for nothing can be clearer, than that if you have not the appointment of those who look and watch over your interests, those interests will be very little likely to meet with due attention. If you have not those to look after your interest, who have an interest in attending to it, or rather who have an opposite interest, it is clear that you must suffer. (*Applauses.*) Yet, notwithstanding the clearness of this case, it has frequently surprised me to hear persons express a difficulty in making up their minds upon the subject, and the more particularly as some of those persons were generally well informed, and acting in the conduct of their private affairs in such a way as to shew that even the principle of their practice applied to the question now under our consideration, and they could not fail to be right. I am convinced that none of these persons would be willing to commit the management of their property to any other stewards, than those selected by their own judgment. I should ask, how would they feel, if, stewards, appointed by others, were imposed upon them. If the stewards who had been appointed of any particular district were to assume the right of appointing an agent for the superintendance and management of any private gentlemen's property, instead of leaving that appointment to himself, how would that gentleman think of that matter—would he not consider it as an act of gross arrogance and injustice?

Now if such would be, and very naturally, the consideration of an individual, how are the people to feel when they find that the persons who are to direct their concerns and to dispose of their property, are such as are quite beyond the sphere of their influence, such in fact as have no disposition to consult their interests or wishes, while they are enabled entirely to bear down the few stewards of popular selection who are permitted to interpose? This is the simple question for consideration, whether you will be reconciled to a system in which the great majority of those who have the uncontrouled disposition of your liberty and property, contemn your wishes and disregard your interests, and where but a very small part indeed are in any degree influenced by your opinion.—This matter has been so amply, simply, and ably stated to the public, in the year 1793, by the society called "The Friends of the People," that it is unnecessary for me to take up your time by going into any detail upon the subject. It appears by the petition which was presented at that time, that one hundred and fifty-four individuals returned a majority to the House of Commons. That fact alone would suffice to convince any reasoning man, that too much of the representation was engrossed by the power of a few to justify the hope that the House of Commons was likely to fulfil the original object of its institution. This was indeed very early in life the impression on my mind, and such, I am persuaded, was your general impression, even at a time the Petition I allude to was laid before the House—but yet the object of that Petition was not obtained, because many then differed from us, who, from the events which have since occurred, from the disclosures which have been made, from the result of experience and observation, have been since brought to agree with us. The advocates of Reform failed in 1793, in consequence of the mistaken notions which their enemies industriously propagated, in consequence of delusion and ill-founded alarm. But these delusions have been dissipated, and the eyes of the people have been completely opened, principally through the discoveries brought to light by the spirit and ability of an individual, who this day honours us with his presence. —[*This allusion to Mr. Wardle produced acclamations of applause*]—The undaunted exertions of that Gentleman have tended more completely to open the eyes of the public than any thing within my recollection, and they have given to him that weight in the country to which his merits so richly entitle him. Neither number nor example wrought with that Gentleman to make his constant mind swerve from the truth, or refuse to perform that most arduous duty he had undertaken. No obstacle impeded him, no threat induced him to abandon that duty which he boldly undertook, although he stood alone when he undertook it. Gentlemen, day after day new discoveries of abuses are made: day after day the Reports of Committees afford fresh evidence of the existence of the most shameless corruption. It is by these means the eyes of the public have been opened; it is by these means that those persons who were formerly alarmed have become convinced that they were mistaken in the ground of their alarm, that it was the corruptions of the Government they ought to have been alarmed at, and that what they ought to have been alarmed at, was unfortunately that which they have always clung to for support. (*Repeated acclamations.*) It is melancholy to take a review of the situation of this country, from any period, however remote, or however nearly approaching to our times, because every period is marked with some encroachments on the rights of the public, some depredation on the comforts of the people, and some attack on their property and freedom—It affords us no consolation, even if we go back to the early constitution of the country—to the period of that obsolete charter *Magna Charta*, which used to be mentioned with respect, but now is never heard of at all, or if we go back only to "The Petition of Rights," a declaratory act developing the principles contained in Magna Charta; which also only contained a developement

of the principles that had existed from times immemorial: or, if you go to the period of the Revolution—if we read the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, or any of the conditions that placed the present family on the Throne, or any of the stipulations for the security of the liberty and property of the subject, we can only condole without a prospect of relief, except from the measure which we have met this day to promote. (*Acclamations of bravo! bravo!*) Gentlemen, it was stipulated on behalf of the public, at the time of the accession of King William; it was a stipulation on which he was offered and accepted the Crown of this kingdom. It was set forth in the Petition of Rights, amongst other things, that there should exist none of the grievances of which we now complain, and which have become so interwoven in the system of the administration of the country, that we can hardly mention them as abuses, for we can hardly have any hope, if we contemplate what men's minds are upon the subject of them, of any considerable number of persons attempting their redress. For instance, one of the reasons for driving King James the Second from the Throne, was for keeping up a standing army. Undoubtedly after this practice of keeping up a standing army has been so fostered in this land, though I shall always contend it is a practice most dangerous to the public, as well as ineffectual to the defence of the country; it has become so interwoven in the administration of the Government, that you can hardly mention it as a grievance, notwithstanding it was thought by our forefathers sufficient to justify driving a King from the Throne.—(*Vehement applause.*)—The violating also the freedom of elections of Members to serve in Parliament, was another of those great principles, which was stated as the reason for the expulsion of the Stuart family, and yet we now have, day after day, produced to the public proofs of this crime,—proofs of the detection of this great constitutional, I should unconstitutional crime, by a Minister of the country, and in the worst way, by the abuse of his official Patronage; and we find the House of Commons attempting to justify, or at least to palliate, and excuse, and protect, the criminal from that indignation and that punishment which ought to have awaited him. (*Bravo! bravo! resounded from all parts of the room; the plaudits were long and incessant.*) Gentlemen, if any argument was necessary to prove to the country at large the absolute necessity of a Reform in the House of Commons, I should think that the circumstance alone, I have just alluded to, would be sufficient to impress on the minds of every man its absolute necessity. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, all the evils that we now labour under—all the dangers which threaten the country—all the oppressions we witness, are owing to this one cause: the detected guilt which I before mentioned, and the perpetual attempts of every Minister to force his tools into the House of Commons, as the substitutes for the real Representatives of the People. (*Repeated shouts of approbation.*) There were some persons at the time, who unblushingly maintained, that it would be very hard indeed to punish an individual in the way they could have punished him, whose only offence had been that of having made a mistake. (*Laughter.*) The Noble Lord was certainly represented upon the occasion, as an innocent young man, who, unpractised in the affairs of the world, had by accident been made the dupe of an impostor. (*Loud bursts of laughter.*) Perhaps this sentiment has arisen from a compassionate feeling, similar to that formerly expressed for the fate of the inglorious Chartres, who, after having for many years lived with impunity in the commission of every crime that could disgrace human nature, was, in his old age, condemned to death for a rape. It was said of him, that he who for so long a period escaped when guilty, was at last punished for an act which he was unable to commit. For, Gentlemen, the ground of defence taken by the friends of Lord Castlereagh is, that he did not complete the deed of which he was accused. I own that I

heard that defence with indignation; an indignation which was not lessened by my recollection of the fate of Hamlyn, the poor Cornish inman, who, for an attempt to corrupt the integrity of Mr. Addington, was ruined for ever. I state the fact, that the crime of bribery and corruption was complete in the Noble Lord, as far as depended on him. That the Noble Lord should meet with protection in a House, the character and privileges of which were so deeply involved by his conduct, merits terms of reprobation which it would not be prudent or fit for me to use in this Assembly. By their proceedings, the House of Commons entangled themselves in this absurd predicament. On their Journals is a Resolution of the year 1779, that any such attempt to influence the election of Members of Parliament, was to strike at the dignity, honour, and independence, of the House; and now they have on the same Journals a Resolution exculpatory of Lord Castlereagh, because his Lordship only made an attempt at such a blow, and failed in the execution of it. Gentlemen, in referring to the old constitutional laws, to which, whenever the Constitution is mentioned, I suppose a reference is always intended, we shall find principles recorded, for the assertion of which I have frequently been accused, and that too by persons whose reading ought to have taught them better, of a love of novelty. — We shall find it recorded among other things, though it was thought, when first I started it, a novel doctrine; not novel as compared with any thing to be found in the Greek and Roman history, but novel in the history of this country—I mean that grand provision in the Act of Settlement, "that no person holding an office or employment under the Crown, shall sit or vote in the Commons House of Parliament."—You know how that provision has been complied with. It is also enacted, that this country shall never engage in war for the support of his Majesty's German dominions. You know how that enactment has been enforced; the war we are now engaged in has been continued principally with a view of saving those possessions; and his Majesty's late Ministers had even made the recovery of them a *sine qua non* of peace. In one word, if you will take the trouble to trace the progress of the Borough-mongering Faction—for I will not dignify it with the name of the Government of the country—you will find that they have wrought all those evils which our forefathers shed their blood to protect us from the recurrence of; you will find they have produced all those evils they thought they had protected their posterity against—you will find them all brought back by the act of that body of persons, who by the Constitution are supposed to be the guardians and protectors of the people against those abuses. And are people to be told that those encroachments on the public liberty, which our forefathers had too much freedom to suffer even from the King upon the Throne, have been brought back by those Borough-mongers, who have destroyed the liberties of their country, who have done so by the commission of that traitorous act, which is deprecated in the Sacred Book we all respect,—I mean the Bible,—the act of "seething the kid in the mother's milk,"—who have been destroying the liberties of the country, by that which should have preserved them;—who have been converting the principle of life into a principle of destruction? This was the most dangerous act they could have committed. It was the worst of all poisons to be infused, for it was a poison of the remedies provided for our cure. Under this system we have experienced nothing but oppressions and vexations. Vexations, indeed, is too light a term to express the sufferings our countrymen have endured in support of this unnatural and unconstitutional system. We cannot forget, or at least I cannot forget, the long, cruel, and unjust, imprisonments which have been endured by many innocent and oppressed individuals. I cannot forget those years, lately past, which marked the career of *the Government of this* country with every feature, every trait, of the Govern-

of those countries we have considered as bending under the strongest iron of despotic power. (*Applauses.*) When I reflect on the sufferings of innocent men—what severe calamities they have endured—when I review a covered with exiles, and the country with blood, it is impossible that I gard without horror this Borough-mongering Faction. Can you think that k too strongly when you look to Ireland? (*Loud Applauses.*) Am I ing too strongly when you look at home—when you find that the sufferers e referred to, even after years of imprisonment, liberated without a trial, en definite accusation—when you consider that, instead of having been of any violation of the law, those were its violators who caused their suf- s? This indeed was confessed by the violators themselves afterwards, to avert the vengeance of the laws they had outraged, and to deprive of lress the individuals they had persecuted, they procured a Bill of Indem- which the Borough-mongering Parliament granted to its tools. Thus were oppressive Ministers shielded from the consequences of abused power; us did those Ministers pronounce judgment on their own conduct, by ling to the House of Commons, to the Representatives of the People, to hem from the punishment that ought to have awaited their illegal acts. *ause.*) Notwithstanding this experience, and the lessons it must have t, I should not wonder if we are now at the commencement of a similar I should not wonder if an attempt similar to that in 1794 should be made, the same pretence of alarm—and that they should carry into effect mea- of a similar description, to prevent our prosecuting this our object, which nilar object, and the only one I solemnly believe these persecuted persons ad in view; but I trust it will not again be so easy to blind the eyes of the ry. To have been duped and fooled once in an age, will be sufficient for ost credulous. I trust, if that miserable and weak measure is again at- ed, it will be met with a firmness, moderation, good sense, and resolu- which will counteract the machinations of those who shall make the at- , and, at the same time, obtain for us that object, without which nothing in this country that can deserve the name of freedom. (*Applauses.*) I ndeed, perfectly convinced that the measure for which we look is not less ial to the dignity and interest of the King, than it is necessary to the free- and happiness of the People. For at present his Majesty is obliged to his Ministers from among the Borough-mongering Faction. He cannot, , carry on his fair share of the Government, of which no one would wish rive him, but under the overawing controul of this mischievous party. ord, it so happens, that this Borough-mongering Faction under the pre- of the King's prerogative, oppresses the people, while under the pretence g the Representatives of the people it controuls the King. Therefore, I d, that a Parliamentary Reform is necessary for the good, the tranquil- ie security, and the happiness, of the King. (*Loud Applause.*) The the profligate waste of the public expenditure, is an object that must rily of late have attracted the attention of all of you—that wasteful and ident expenditure is entirely owing to the same cause from whence our evils proceed. It arises entirely from the same principle; and I have no ion in saying, that the King, or the family of the King, if they wanted it, have more than they have, if it was not for the depredations of those I efore alluded to. What any one man, or one family, can demand, can e an object to a mighty nation like this. Nay, notwithstanding the un- ate discoveries (I use the word unfortunate with a reference to the act, t to the detection) in which a Prince of the blood has been so deeply im- d, I have no hesitation in saying, that we should even shut our eyes to

those follies, if on the other side we saw our rights, our liberties, and our constitution, respected. We are not to expect from Princes feelings and actions equal to those of human beings in general, much less superior.—(*Exclamations of Bravo! Bravo! Fair! Fair!*)—We are willing to grant them indulgence; but we are only willing to grant it on the security of our liberties and our rights. (*Applauses.*) I own it is a great consolation for me to reflect that the Prince, in whom we have the most interest, has not been liable to the breath of suspicion.—(*Reiterated acclamations.*) I own that it is a matter of great consolation to me. It is also a matter of consolation to me to think, that if I was to mention the person whom I should more particularly say was an Englishman than the rest, it would be the Prince to whom I have alluded. (*Continued plaudits from all parts of the room.*) I should hope it may not be impossible for persons in their situations to feel for, and have a common interest in the common cause of the country; to be sensible of the necessity of putting an end to such corruptions, which weigh the country to the earth, and of affording to the people that fair share in the Government which the laws and the constitution tell them they are entitled to, and of promoting their enjoyment of those rights which the law says belong to them. We want nothing new; we desire no novelties; we wish only to be put back where we were; we are anxious to regain what we have lost, and to have security for the future, that the same encroachments shall not be made again on the liberties and happiness of the people.—(*Bravo! Bravo!*) It was not my object, and it never will be my object to endeavour to call the vengeance of the country on the head of any unfortunate detected individual, because I know that the fault is in the system.—It is the system with which I am at war, it is against the effect of that pernicious system: as I know it to be that, I wish to guard the people. In the House of Commons too, it was made a sort of excuse for Lord Castlereagh, that although he had been found out, it was well known that there were few among those who were his judges, who, if they decided according to the feelings of their consciences, could without inculpating themselves, give a verdict of guilty.—I firmly believe that, undoubtedly, to have been the case; that is the real mischief, that is the real grievance; it is there we must apply the remedy. We must not be deluded either by the punishment of any individual, or even by any of the partial remedies which all Ministers are willing to endeavour to soften the public feeling by adopting. I mean Bills like that lately introduced into Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the preventing of trafficking in places. Can any thing be so truly ridiculous? At the very time this Bill is brought in, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is covering his colleague, for trafficking in a way the most pernicious and unconstitutional; not with his own money—that would be bad enough—but by converting his official patronage into a bribe, for the purpose of polluting the representation of the people. (*Bursts of Applause.*) I recollect having somewhere read of a Noble Genoese, who was a rich and worthy man, and who, finding that his countrymen were oppressed by severe taxes on the necessaries of life, and particularly on salt, retired from the world, and passed his whole life in frugality and privacy, unmoved by the reproach of nigardliness, in order that he might accumulate money enough to enable his executors on his death to purchase these duties and to relieve the people. On his death this was accordingly done; but scarcely had it been done when the same infamous government re-imposed the same severe burthen on the people. Such, Gentlemen, would be the result in England of a partial Reformation. We might relieve the country for a moment; but my firm opinion is, that eventually we should not be a jot better, but on the contrary worse, as we should be farther than ever from our wishes. While the system that now prevails continues to exist—while the Borough-mongering Faction retain their power, the source of *all evils will remain*, and we can look for no effectual relief. We require a

genuine honest Government under the controul of a fair representation of the people. Without those we cannot exist as a great free nation, and therefore I say, we must not stop short of a complete Reform. I have heard of persons lately making much use of the words "temperate reform." I should wish correctly to understand what is meant by the phrase. It was repeated in the upper House of Parliament, accompanied by some reflections upon what was called the cant of modern patriots, meaning, I suppose, Gentlemen, such as I have the honour to address. If this phrase means any thing short of that which is the undoubted right of the people, namely, a fair and full Representation in the Commons House of Parliament, it certainly has not my approbation. (*Applauses.*) I understand that it was Lord Grey, who a few years ago was a strenuous advocate for Parliamentary Reform, and who, I trust, is still friendly to it, then added this language: "Gentlemen, it would much better become those who talk of a rational and temperate Reform (as if there were persons who wished for a Reform not rational and temperate!) to apply themselves to another quarter: to turn from the people who are burdened to the utmost possibility of endurance to those by whom their burdens have been imposed, and to repeat to them lessons of moderation and forbearance. Some time ago, Gentlemen, it was proposed in Parliament, that every labouring man who maintained his family without having recourse to parish alms, should have a badge of distinction. Now I should like to see a badge of infamy on the bosom of every man, who, by political intrigue, and by corrupt practices, betrays the best interests of his country. Such men always have been, and always are, extorting alms from every labouring man in the nation. (*Incessant cries of Bravo.*) Among the other striking grievances of which this aggrieved nation has to complain, it is not among the least, and certainly if I was to address you much longer, it would not be among the last—is the introduction of corps of foreigners of various descriptions into this country. I trust it is not for this gallant nation to trust to foreign mercenaries to defend the land. (*No! no! no! Loud Applause.*) I wish to see its defence entrusted only to its own people—I wish to see it entrusted to the honest farmer—to country gentlemen—to tradesmen.—I wish that the inhabitants of towns, and the country in general, had arms in their hands, for the purpose of resisting the invader—I should like to see that sort of force, instead of a miserable, weak, contemptible, defence, such as is at best ineffectually obtained by a standing army. I should wish that we had relied only on ourselves, and on that species of force I have described.—I should like to see the sword and the plough in the same hands—no hands better become it—all those countries were that system has been adopted, from the period of the ancient Romans down to the present time, have found the benefit of it in the sure protection it has afforded.—We have the misfortune to have thousands of foreigners in this country entrusted with arms, while there seems to be a sort of jealousy and apprehension of entrusting to the people the means of their own defence.—I hope we have still the same feelings, as were expressed in a former time by our forefathers, in a remonstrance to King Charles the First, when he was attempting to introduce, by means of his prerogative, this very grievance which has been now introduced by a Borough-mongering Parliament. I remember, that amongst the complaints against that unfortunate Monarch, was the introduction of Foreign troops. Our forefathers had too much spirit to submit to be defended by Foreign mercenaries: they say in their remonstrance, "that they hope it is beneath the heart of every Englishman, that this victorious nation should now stand in need of German soldiers to defend it." I trust and hope you still inherit the same feelings, and I trust it will not be very long before some attempt is made to relieve the country from the grievance of

which I complain. It is quite intolerable to my mind to hear that a German Baron Somebody has the command of an English district—(*Shocking! Shocking! Shocking! resounded from a thousand voices!*)—It is truly insulting—a more foolish, shameless, and disgraceful, thing than I have words, or any man can have words, in which to represent it.—When the question is—"Arms and Honour,"—a Noble Lord (Cochrane), my colleague, cannot be far distant—(*The whole room rang with a burst of admiration the moment this noble, intrepid, and victorious, Commander's name was pronounced; it was long ere the plaudits ceased.*)—When I look at the Noble Lord near me, I am convinced that the spirit of Britons is now as high as at any former period of our history. I am so well acquainted with the Noble Lord, that I know he fears nothing except to hear his own praise. I shall therefore abstain from hurting his feelings, by entering upon a topic, which it would give me the highest degree of gratification to express myself upon, as I am sure, by the feelings you have evinced, it would you to listen to me upon such a theme. I only meant to say that we were not so poor in English spirit, courage, and ability,—that this country never was heretofore so poor in those qualities, as to look to Foreign aid for its defence; and that at the present time. If the military spirit is not higher than it is, it is only from the impossibility to exceed what it even has been—that it equals it at any period no one will deny. Gentlemen, I shall detain you but a few minutes longer, but, before I conclude, I must observe on a misapprehension of what fell from me on a former occasion in Westminster Hall. It was misapprehension and mis-statement with respect to what I said concerning the gentlemen of this country, who were engaged in agricultural pursuits.—I did say, that I wished most anxiously, as I do wish, to see the Gentlemen of England resuming that proud situation in which their good fortune has afforded them the means of placing themselves—that I wished to see them heading the people in defence of the rights of their country.—I said, I was sorry that there did appear to be a disposition in many Gentlemen, to induce them to abandon the higher interests of their country, and to apply themselves to the management of their farms, rather than to the exercise of those great duties, which the people have a right to expect from them.—I by no means meant to say, that that feeling was universal or general; for I could point out splendid exceptions.—I could point out Gentlemen, whose liberal pursuits of agriculture are not more remarkable than the firmness and steadiness with which they come forward in the defence of the rights and liberties of the country.—I could name several; but there is one in particular I must not omit—I mean Mr. Coke, of Norfolk.—(*Repeated Plaudits.*) I might certainly have selected many exceptions to the generality of my remark: the object of my remark was this—I only said, and I still say, that those pursuits ought not to be *paramount*, they ought only to be secondary; I only inferred that after a man had done his utmost to maintain his rank and situation, and to acquit himself of the performance of the duties of a Representative of the people, the indulgence in agricultural pursuits was not only innocent, but laudable, and of the highest importance to the public. I shall detain you but a few moments longer; it is merely to recapitulate the importance of the objects proposed by the questions we have undertaken, and the attainment of which we anxiously expect to arrive at. I hope that the country will feel their importance, as they ought to do. I hope the people will be sensible, that they present the only means of salvation, and the only hope of averting those mischiefs which have resulted from the measure now proposed, not having been resorted to before. It is a measure which seeks only to obtain for the people *what the law says, has of* right immemorial belonged to them. Gentlemen, *on the success of the present* important question the country reposes as on

its sole hope of salvation. I ask only that which I am entitled to ask by the law and the Constitution. 'Tis our birthright; 'tis our inheritance; 'tis the inheritance of inheritances; for without it we are nothing. I propose no new-fangled doctrines. I contend for that alone for which our ancestors laid down their lives, and I trust, Gentlemen, that we shall not be so base and mean, when our lives are unendangered, to abandon that for which their blood was shed. I ask no more in behalf of the people of England, than what a dutiful and loyal people may ask, and what it is fit for a just, upright, and beneficent King to grant. Gentlemen, I give you—

"A speedy Reform in the Representation of the People."

This toast was drunk with three times three; and the applause at the close of the Hon. Baronet's speech continued for several minutes.

Major CARTWRIGHT rose, and stated, that he had various Resolutions to propose, in order to carry into effect the real object of the Meeting. In doing so, he would trouble them with no observations, but leave the Resolutions to speak for themselves. He should only observe, that they were the children of reason, and not such as were applied to our passions, so much as to sober sense and sound judgment. Major Cartwright then read the Resolutions one by one, amidst the reiterated acclamations of the crowded audience.

Resolved, 1. That it is "the grand principle of the Constitution, that the People shall have a share in the Government, by a just representation in Parliament.

2. That the long duration of Parliaments greatly facilitates the corruption of the members, and removes that wholesome check or controul on their conduct,—a frequent recurrence to the opinion of their Constituents.

3. That in a Petition, presented to the House of Commons on the 6th of May, 1793, it was offered to be proved at the Bar, "that 154 individuals did, by their own authority, appoint or procure the return of 307 Members of that House, (exclusive of those for Scotland,) who were thus enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole People of Great Britain."

4. That this Meeting believes that individual patronage in Boroughs has increased since 1793—that the Representation of Scotland is extremely influenced and unfree—that there are great defects in that of Ireland—and that in the English Boroughs called OPEN, the returns are for the most part obtained for money; wherefore, upon the whole, it is the opinion of this Meeting, that a great majority of the Members of the Commons House are so returned, that the nation is not constitutionally represented, while yet it is taxed to support an expenditure of seventy millions sterling a year.

5. That in the Act (commonly called the Act of Settlement,) which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of these Realms, it was asserted, and recognized as the Constitutional principle, that no person who "has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons."

6. That it appears, by a Report laid on the Table of the House of Commons in June last, that 78 of its Members are in the regular receipt under the Crown of 178,994*l.* a year.

7. That in 1782, it was declared by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, that "seven or eight members of that House were sent there by the Nabob of Arcot, and that a foreign state in enmity to this country might procure a party to act for it under the mask and character of Members of that House."

8. That *such a state of* Representation is a national grievance.

9. That in every department of the State, into which inquiry has been made, scandalous corruptions and abuses have detected.

10. That the exclusion of the public voice from all influence in, and the consequent corruption of, the Governments of the Continental States, have been the causes of their subjugation.

11. That so long as the People shall not be fairly represented, corruption will increase; our debts and taxes will accumulate; our resources will be dissipated; the native energy of the People will be depressed; and the country deprived of its best defence against foreign foes.

12. That to remedy the great and glaring evils of which we complain, it is not necessary to have recourse to theoretical speculations or dangerous experiments in Government, but to recur to the principles handed down to us by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers.

13. That the remedy is to be found, and to be found only, in a full and fair Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament; a remedy equally necessary to the safety of the Throne, and to the happiness and independence of the Country.

14. That we therefore recommend to every town, city, and county, to take the state of the Representation into consideration, and urgently, but temperately, to apply to Parliament to adopt such measures as shall secure to the Nation the reality and uses of Representation.

Mr. MADOCKS.—Gentlemen, I have the honour to second the Resolutions which Major Cartwright has just read and proposed to you, and upon which I understand it to be your pleasure that they should be put in a collective form, instead of being put separately. Gentlemen, I second these Resolutions, because I believe in my conscience that they speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Having pledged myself in my place in the House of Commons, to agitate the question of Parliamentary Reform, I then took the liberty of stating, that no consideration upon earth should make me abandon it.—(*Bravo! bravo!*) I have the same feeling now as I had then upon that subject, because, Gentlemen, ever since I had an opportunity of examining this matter, ever since I had an opportunity of looking at the consequences of our system, from the period of its commencement to the present hour, and many evil consequences they are, I am persuaded that they are to be ascribed to the unfair Representation of the People in Parliament. But, after the most splendid, as well as the most convincing specimen of eloquence I ever heard—I mean the speech which has been just delivered from the Chair—it would be in vain for me to attempt to point out to you, by any reasoning, the propriety of the measure which is now submitted to your consideration, since I agree entirely in all the sentiments of the Hon. Bart. and therefore there is no necessity for me to endeavour to impress on your minds more strongly than has been done already, or more strongly than yourselves feel the necessity—the absolute necessity of a Parliamentary Reform. The enormous public abuses which have been exposed by an Hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Wardle), form the strongest of all possible reasons why an immediate Parliamentary Reform should be adopted; for I am sure you will agree with me, when I say, that when Committees are appointed, as they have been, year after year, to examine into various abuses, nothing is done of essential service to the public towards the removal of those abuses; and one of the reasons is obvious, because the person who is now at the head of the Government is the greatest reversionist in the kingdom. Gentlemen, permit me to congratulate you; as I do most sincerely, on the revival which *has taken place from one* end of this kingdom to the other, of those princi*ples, and for which* revival we are much indebted to the unaffected good

sense, to the ability, and to the patriotism of my friend, who thought it necessary to examine into corruption, and into those abuses which, if allowed to continue, as it now stands recorded upon the Journals of the House of Commons, will sap the very foundation of our free and happy Constitution. —Gentlemen, to speak of my friend Mr. Wardle what I know of him, I have been witness to his great merits in various departments of life in the district wherein he resided; I know he has been Sheriff for three counties, during which he conducted himself most honourably in that important office. He has most faithfully filled all the offices of a Magistrate, a Master, and a Landed Proprietor. (*Applause.*) But there is another great and striking feature in his character, which I wish you, and which I wish the country to know, namely, his moderation, and the meekness of his character; he is at the same time the rational and sober promoter of Parliamentary Reform. Having thus paid to my friend a tribute so justly due to him, I shall now pay a similar tribute to another; I mean the Gentleman who has laid before us these Resolutions—Major Cartwright; a gentleman who, from the honesty of his principles, and from his perseverance in that line of public conduct, is entitled to the respect of the present age, and to the gratitude of posterity. This is, and I will venture to say that such will be the case, with respect to Major Cartwright (*Bravo, Bravo!*)—for he has all his life time, now not a short one, struggled for a Parliamentary Reform. He has for a great many years pursued this object, and I flatter myself that there is now a greater prospect of it than we have ever seen before, and I do really hope that something will be obtained (*It shall, it shall!*) As to the necessity of Reform in Parliament, it is unnecessary to dwell upon that point. I did intend to make some observations upon that subject, but the speech of our Chairman has rendered that unnecessary; I can only say, that any one who looks at the present state of the misrepresentation of the people, will see how absurd it is to endure all the evils of which we have now so much reason to complain, without seeking a constitutional remedy of them. I had this morning made a short abstract of the present state of the representation of this country, but, in consequence of the speech of the Chairman, I shall not state it. (*Read, read, read!*) I have made a short abstract, and since it is your pleasure I should run over the few lines which I have set down, I shall do so. The state of the representation of this country then stands thus:—there are 26 Burgage Tenures, which are the property of private individuals. They return 52 Members. There are 51 Boroughs, whose number of voters do not exceed 50 each, and they return 100.—There are 23 Boroughs whose number of voters do not exceed 100. They return 45. There are Boroughs, whose numbers do not exceed 200. They return 56 Members. There are two unfortunate Boroughs at the end of the list, whose voters actually amount to the *enormous number* of 300, and they return 4; making 257, which is precisely a majority of the existing Members for England, and they are returned for 11,075 voters! How stood the matter when the state of it was taken on a former occasion? In 1793, 71 Peers and the Treasury returned 167 Members. But I have to state an additional circumstance, which I wish strongly to impress on this Meeting, and which shews the influence of Government to have increased in the House of Commons since the year 1793, when the statement was made by the Friends of the People. By this it appears that, bad as things were in 1793, they have been growing worse and worse every year; for, since the year 1793, there have been created 16 Peers, who have a decided influence over 39 Members of the House of Commons; besides which, there have been six Baronets created, who have influence over eleven Members of the House of Commons. So that, with the Peers and Baronets, there is an influence over Members of

the House of Commons to the number of 206. There are of English Peers, made in the present reign, 141; and of Irish 59; making, in all, 200. Besides all this, there are many counties; all this in addition to the 167 which are returned by Peers of the Treasury. Now let us come to the *Borough Faction*, which has been so ably commented upon by our worthy Chairman; the Boroughmongers are 91, and they return in all 139 Members to the House of Commons, which makes, in all, 306; so that upon the whole the matter stands thus:—The English part of the House of Commons is 513 Members, out of which 327 of them are influenced by individuals, instead of being returned by the people, whom they are said to represent; that leaves a balance of 186, who are wholly uninfluenced Members of Parliament. I shall now call your attention to the result of all this. Take 186 independent and uninfluenced Members out of the Treasury and Borough Faction, and there will remain 141 majority in favour of the interest of the Faction; and therefore to expect to carry any popular question *for* the people, *against* that faction, is really out of the question, a mater on which I need not dwell, because it has been so ably stated by our worthy Chairman.—These were the considerations which induced me to rise in my place in the House of Commons, and to give notice of a proposition, which, I trust, is now, more than ever, likely to be attended with success, for a Reform in Parliament; and I have the satisfaction of stating to you, that the Resolutions now before us, which I have the pleasure of seconding, do appear to me to contain all the leading principles which can render Reformation in Parliament effectual to the service, and for the true interests of the people of this Country; and I will take the liberty of repeating what I have said already, that these Resolutions speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Gentlemen, there are many topics on which I could say much, but I shall abstain; allow me, however, to congratulate you, and to congratulate the country at large, on the rising spirit which appears among us. I did once almost despair of any thing like reformation in this country, and that entirely from a want of proper spirit in the people; but I do say, that from circumstances which have lately happened, and which need only be alluded to, the spirit of the people has been roused, and, considering all circumstances, I say, that from the Revolution down to the present time, there never was a moment so auspicious as the present to the cause of the people—(*great applause*);—nor was there ever a moment when Reformation was so much wanted as the present; for after the condition which I have stated to you the House of Commons to be in, your own good sense must convince you at once, how impossible it is to look with a ray of rational hope for any Reformation taking place in such a system, unless it be demanded by something like the unanimous voice of the People. But, Gentlemen, you must expect not only to be opposed, but to be assailed, to be traduced, and vilified by the friends of corruption; you must not be deterred by the cry of *Jacobinism*: trust to your own virtuous motives; rely upon the goodness of your cause, and I trust that the same magnanimous spirit which now manifests itself among you, is not only felt here, but will also be felt from the Northern extremity of Scotland to the South of the Isle of Wight, and from the Eastern to the Western Coast of this land; I am persuaded it will do so if you exert yourselves, and will soon communicate to the East and West Indies, and will be echoed back again to us in full applause and firm resolution.—(*Applause.*) Gentlemen, if any of our enemies should call us *Jacobins*, and tell us, as they will, no doubt, that we want a *Revolution* in this country—throw back upon them this answer—"No, we want not a *Revolution*, we want a *restoration*—a *restoration* of the true principles of the Constitution, as intended by our *ancestors, and handed* down to us as our undoubted birth-right." Our auces-

tors expected such of their posterity as should represent the rest in Parliament, to be jealous and watchful guardians of the interests of the people, to watch the Ministers of the Crown, on whose conduct they were meant to be established as a check, and a check also on the prerogative of the Crown; for, Gentlemen, I do not say there is no such thing as the prerogative of the Crown. I know there is, and there ought to be; but this I say, there would be no safety to the liberties of the people, if there were such a thing as prerogative in the abstract, that is prerogative of the Crown, without a corresponding check in the House of Commons. There always has been, in our good times, a check in the House of Commons against the wrong use of that prerogative of the Crown; for, although it be true that the King can make war and peace, it is equally true, that he can do neither without the assent of the House of Commons, because that House can withhold the supplies. Gentlemen, I think this is Constitutional language, and I feel that the Crown has an interest in supporting it, for *it* wants protection against the *Borough Faction* as much as the *People.* It is a maxim well understood and readily received by us, "that the King can do no wrong."—Why? Because his Ministers are responsible for whatever is done in his name, he doing nothing but by their advice; therefore the Ministers of the King are responsible for whatever is done in the King's name; but what is the use of that responsibility without a watchful House of Commons to subject them in reality to that responsibility. Gentlemen, these are the true principles of our Constitution, that Constitution which was devised by the wisdom, vindicated by the virtue, and cemented with the blood of our glorious ancestors,—a Constitution which the people have a right to claim in its purity; and I trust that these sentiments will be echoed and re-echoed from one end of the land to the other. I trust the people will utter this sentiment with a steady, uniform, and firm voice, "We will have the Constitution; the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution." At present they have it not, for there are a great many, and some of them very considerable for their property, even in land, who do not possess the right of election: such is the case of all those who hold copyhold land, be it ever so great in amount. Gentlemen, it may shock you to reflect that a man may possess such a stake in the country as to hold a thousand a year in land for one thousand years, and yet not have a vote for a Member of Parliament to represent the county in which that land is situated, both of whose Members are *the* sons or brothers of Peers, such as Cumberland, Cambridge, Gloucestershire, Bucks, Rutland, &c. So again, if you look at the monied interest of this country, a person may be a holder of a part of the National debt, by being a Proprietor in the Funds, and that to the extent of a million of money, and yet even such a person has no vote for a Member to represent him in the House of Commons; and thus it is that burthens aae imposed upon the people to an immense extent, by those in whose election they have no share whatever, and whose duty it is to see whether such immense sums of money have, or have not, been wisely applied and expended. Gentlemen, these are matters which, although you know them, I would have you *consider* and *reflect* upon, and for that purpose it is adviseable that you should *hold Meetings* very often, and in all parts of the kingdom; for it is by frequent deliberations only, you can come properly to a recollection of your rights, and it is by a perseverance in asserting, that you can alone recover them. Gentlemen, I thank you most humbly for hearing me so long. I do assure you, there is not a man in England who has more sincere wishes than I have for a perfect Parliamentary Reform (*applause*); and here I beg leave to renew before you, the pledge which I have made to my country in the House of Commons; which is, to support, with whatever power I possess, a Reform in Parliament. It is an object of my heart, and which no power upon earth shall ever induce me to forego. (*Great applause.*)

Sir F. Burdett then put the question on the Resolutions, which were carried unanimously, with the exception of a single hand held up at the lower part of the room. The decision having been announced, the room rang with acclamations for several minutes. The next toast given from the chair, was

"The cause for which Hampden bled in the field, and Sidney on the scaffold."—With three times three.

The Chairman then rose and said, I beg leave to propose a toast, which cannot be ushered in in better company or more appropriately. I give—

"Mr. Wardle; and may we ever possess an Advocate with ability to detect and courage to expose corruption."

It was drank with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of popular applause, which continued uninterruptedly for some minutes.

Mr. WARDLE.—Gentlemen, the high honour you have conferred upon me demands my warmest acknowledgements. I am fully sensible of its value; it is most gratifying to my feelings, and it shall never cease to live in my remembrance. If, Gentlemen, in your partiality you have deemed my Parliamentary conduct to merit so distinguished a reward, I can only say, that I I would to God the little I have done for you had been infinitely more. If that little entitles me to my country's approval, how extensive are the claims of the worthy and patriotic Chairman, to whose advice and to whose assistance I was considerably indebted. From him I daily received instruction, which no man was more capable to give—instruction to advance the interests of his country, and to unfold the corruption by which those interests were prevented. Never can I forget the circumstances under which I received his assistance, proceeding from a sick room and an anxious mind—circumstances which, in the language of the Poet, make

"Me proud to call the worthy man my friend."

But, Gentlemen, my individual labours in that cause were but of short duration. The people of England soon took me by the hand. My trial was but short: you supported me in my progress, and gave me spirit to persevere in my arduous course. Contrasted with my exertion, review the struggles made for years in your cause, by my Patriotic Friend (Sir F. Burdett). His, indeed, has been the uphill journey. For years has he been fighting your battles. What imputations have been thrown upon his motives! How unmeritedly has his character been assailed! (*Hear, hear!*) How has his conduct been vilified! He did not receive such support, though God knows how much better he was entitled to it:—when I say better entitled to it, let me be understood as thinking so from his superior abilities, combined with his unremitting efforts in your cause; but in sincerity to serve you, I yield to no man. (*Loud cries of bravo!*) In the cause of my country, I will do every thing to the best of my ability, to remove the root of all those evils which mar its prosperity and undermine its greatness. Every motive which should sway an honourable and honest mind, binds me to your service. In a moment of difficulty, with pride I say it, the great mass of the people of England almost unanimously supported me. If, when conscious of such a weight of obligation, I should ever be so debased as to desert their cause, I ought then to be considered as an outcast of society, unworthy of the slightest confidence, and for ever excluded from the intercourse of social life.

Before I proceed, I beg to communicate to this Meeting an event with which I was acquainted by a letter put into my hands just before my entrance into this room. This letter is from the North of England, from the great town of Sheffield; and in it there is a particular wish expressed, that I should communicate the contents to this Meeting. The inhabitants *of that town, after voting* certain Resolutions with respect to myself, have

come to a concludiug Resolution, expressive of their determination to persevere, until all corruptions are radically done away; and no less than 15,000 persons have affixed their signatures to this Resolution;—(*hear! hear! and great applause*)—and I this day learn that the inhabitants of Paisley, in Scotland, have also agreed to Resolutions breathing a similar spirit, and signed by persons. (*Hear! hear!*) Thus circumstanced, and thus treated by my 4000 country, it is impossible that I should waver from any inclination to forsake my duty. If ever I should appear to waver in my conduct, I do hope that you will bring me to an account before my country, and call upon me to answer for the supposed dereliction. But it is necessary for me to explain myself to you, misrepresented and vilified as I have been in some of the Public Prints. I have been charged with complimenting the present servants of the Crown. Indeed, the charge has been repeated since my motion of Friday last, one with reference to the accounts of the War Office—a motion which charged them with every thing but doing their duty. But my attack was not personal;—the evil exists in the system. I will never saddle the present Ministers but with their own sins; and I do most unreservedly assure you that I think those of the last Administration fully number those of the present.—As it was your kindness that raised me to the proud eminence on which I stand, I am anxious that you should fully know the man upon whom you have conferred such a distinguished favour. I belong to no party. (*Cries of hear! hear!*) I have no predilection for either faction. I assert, that until the system—aye, the whole system—be changed, it matters not to the people of England who is the Minister (*Applause*). I say now what, on Friday, I said in the House of Commons, that it was not my object to remove the present Ministers, but to effect a change in the system; that against the system of corruption I would wage eternal war, and that I should do so from the hope that, eventually, a system would be established that would admit of honest men serving you on honest and avowed principles (*Hear! hear! great applauses*). We have been told by his Majesty's Ministers, within the walls of the House of Commons, that if we wanted purity of character, we were to look for it in men high in office; (*a laugh*) and at the same time I heard those who were lately Ministers cheer the idea, as much as to say, "We were all Right Honourable Men!" (*Loud cheering.*) Although I do respect many individuals in that House, and am proud of their friendship and support, and many who have seen their errors, but are now ready to do you a service, I have not the most distant predilection either for the one side or the other. We are now told of dangers likely to proceed from agitating the great measure of Reform. Where these dangers could operate, I never could find out, unless against those most interested in raising the cry. It is indeed natural that pensioners and holders of sinecures should feel apprehension at a Reform, which would release a suffering people from a portion of their oppressive grievances. In the same quarter, a doctrine, to which I can never assent, has been maintained, that pensions and sinecures, and other grants of the public money, are as sacred in their tenure as freehold property. (*Hear! hear!*) If freeholds had been sacred, these sinecures and pensions could not have existed to such an extent; the freeholder has been deprived of his property to establish the pensioner. Why, then, is the property of the pensioner alone sacred? There is another description of persons who anticipated dangers in the event of a reform. I mean Commissioners of Taxes, and the other creatures of the system, daily employed in tearing from the people almost the last shilling. Their fears are also natural, because they well know that by the operation of Reform, the taxes would be reduced in such a ratio as would allow the nation to disburthen itself of such an incumbrance. You are all doubtless aware, that within a short time, a great body of the inhabitants, not only in this city but throughout the country, have joined the standard of Reform; even those who were

formerly called Alarmists; but I have reason to know that the public mind has considerably changed, and that those who formerly trembled at the name of my worthy friend near me, now give him countenance and protection (*Hear! hear!*); persons, who at length seeing the right way, are now ready to join you in this constitutional object.—It was the fear of doing wrong that prevented them from doing good; but much is due to the impression that may still in a light degree, from former prejudices, bear upon their minds; this will be completely eradicated by the moderation and temper by which I am persuaded all your proceedings will be marked. Friends alike to the King and to the People, I say, that we see no danger, because we know that there is none. We know that the only danger that can now arise, would be from delay.

I have to congratulate you, that the people of the country now see our worthy Chairman in his true colours. This great change has been effected, not because he has changed his principles, not that his zeal and ardour in supporting them have diminished. No; he has not changed, but, thank God! the people of England have. (*Loud cheering.*)—They now know how to value his transcendant merits, for without paying a compliment, I know of few men that in talent or virtue equal him. They now repose with confidence on the purity of his motives and the propriety of his measures. They feel at length that all his efforts were directed to the benefit of his King and the welfare of themselves. Little remains for me to say, but the more I reflect upon occurrences, the more pride I feel in having been branded as a Jacobin. I well remember that when the Noble and gallant Lord (Cochrane) on the right of the Chair, complained of severe treatment experienced by our brave sailors, he was stigmatized in that House, where his statement was constitutionally made, as a Jacobin, and charged with an attempt to excite a mutiny in the Navy. He has indeed created a Naval Mutiny—but where has it broke out? The Noble Lord has excited it amongst the fleets of the enemy, (*loud cries of hear! hear!*) and I am well persuaded that he will be equally strenuous and determined in exciting a similar mutiny amongst our domestic foes. (*Hear! hear!*) If, then, such men as he and you, Gentlemen, are denominated Jacobins, proud am I to have my name inserted in the list.—(*Applause*)—I beg leave to conclude, by proposing as a Toast—

"May the real Jacobinical Conspirators be deprived of the power of undermining the Constitution"—with three times three. (*Loud Applause!*)

Mr. Hare Townsend.—The subject of Parliamentary Reform has been already so ably touched by the Gentlemen who have preceded me, that there is little left for me to say on that question. I, however, beg leave to make an observation, which springs out of one that was made by Mr. Madocks. You must all be aware, that unless properly backed by the people, the exertions that are made will be fruitless. I agree with the sentiments of Mr. Madocks; but, at the same time, think that not a moment should be lost in the people expressing their sentiments. If we are really to procure what is so essential to the salvation of the country, we must follow up the blow, and give blow upon blow, until the object is effected. I think Mr. Wardle flatters himself too much in thinking that a great part of the country may not, from the machinations of our enemies, have recourse to the system of alarm. In a few days we may possibly hear of an engagement between the French and the Austrians; and, if the result should be disastrous to the Austrians, we might be told that the danger of the country required the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and even martial law might be proclaimed. I am convinced that the Friends of Reform have more dangers *to apprehend than* that Gentleman imagines; and I hope that my words *will make a strong impression* on the Meeting, and that not a moment

will be lost in having recourse to County Meetings. If the people at large will not second us, the country is gone. We who are in this room have some stake in the country, and it is rational to suppose we should wish to defend it. They who are the authors of corruption have, in fact, no such stake: for were this nation to be conquered, they have sense enough to know, that their pensions, their places, and their sinecures would still be suffered to exist—for the same means which produced the loss of the country would enable the conqueror to retain it. A foreign enemy might be glad to seize the Revenues of the Church, and avail himself of this estate or that estate, but depend upon it not one pension would he touch.

Nothing but a strong sense of that duty which every man owes to his country, could have brought me forward. My habits have been those of *handling sheep and bullocks*; and, when I am conscious of having performed my duty, I prefer that course of life which I have adopted. Gentlemen, I am speaking my real sentiments; and I don't care sixpence what you think of me. (*Loud Applauses.*) I tell you plain facts. The danger is great; and if you do not second our exertions, I shall have a very bad opinion of you. I think no time should be lost in calling a Meeting of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, which has heretofore taken the lead; and at times acted a very conspicuous part in favour of liberty. Our efforts will, however, doubtless in some degree, be damped by the arts of those who wish to ruin us. I wish that that county may take the lead; and although we have not the honour of claiming Sir Francis Burdett as as our Representative, he is a Freeholder of that county, and I am sure it will be the same thing to him, whether he comes forward as a Freeholder, or as your Representative, for we all know that *he has nothing more at heart than his country's good*—(*Loud Applause.*)—I propose, before we quit the room, to fix on a day for that Meeting, choose a Committee, and appoint Sir Francis Burdett one of that Committee. Whatever Resolutions he may assist in framing, will be sure to be constitutional—(*they have always been so,*) and such as may with propriety be adopted by every county and town in the kingdom—(*every where*).—Gentlemen, we have not a moment to lose; for without a Reform in Parliament, the country is gone: and in fact it does not greatly signify, if the country is ruined, whether it is by external causes, or by the Minister of the day—for this is no longer Britain. What has made this country superior to the rest of the world but its Constitution? But unless there be a Reform, it must fall, as all other constitutions have fallen, before corruption. I shall now propose the health of

"The gallant Castigator of our Foreign Foes, Lord COCHRANE; and may he meet "with equal success and greater support when he joins the Patriotic Band against our Do-"mestic Enemies."

LORD COCHRANE rose, and it was several minutes before the plaudits of the company ceased.—Gentlemen, if every individual in this respectable Meeting could place himself in my situation, it would be unnecessary for me to say, that I cannot express my feelings of the honour you have conferred upon me. I return you all my hearty thanks. The opinion you have expressed respecting Parliamentary Reform, supported as it is, cannot fail to have its full effect; and I trust that the day is not far distant when that measure must be brought about. I am happy to see, in so numerous a Meeting, that temper and moderation with which your proceedings have been marked; and I trust, that by respectfully petitioning the Sovereign, the voice of the nation will be attended to.—I say petitioning the Sovereign, for from any other means of application I do not entertain any sanguine hope of success. I shall not, after the speeches you have heard, detain you by obtruding my opinions. You have all formed your own notions, which I believe to be just; and I trust those opinions, and your glorious example, will

followed by the whole kingdom. A great injury has been sustained by this country from persons in high official situations being in the House of Commons, which I have not heard mentioned by any of the Gentlemen who have spoken before me. There is, in consequence of their being in that House, a neglect of public business, and in the execution of their official duties, which when I have been at a great distance from England, I have myself, unfortunately, had great reason to regret. At this awful moment, when the whole of Europe, nay, when even Britain itself may be on the very verge of ruin, this is a most serious consideration. But I hope that the time will come when the House of Commons shall send for the Members of the Government to inquire into the affairs of the nation; and when Ministers shall no longer be occupied *the whole of the day thinking of what they are to cavil about during the night.* I beg leave to express my opinion, that the only efficient course that can be pursued is, to prefer a Petition to his Majesty—to a king who, in his first speech from the Throne, said, that with pride he declared himself to have been born and bred a Briton—how gratifying must it be to have an opportunity of closing his life by gratifying the wishes of his people!!!—(*Thunders of Applause.*)—Lord Cochrane then gave—

"The Electors of Westminster, and may the splendour of their example animate the Country to imitation."

Wm. Smith, Esq. (Member for Norwich).—If I could presume, Gentlemen, to claim one hundredth part of the attention you have paid the Noble Lord who has just sat down, or could assume to myself services like those which he has performed to his country, I should then think myself ill-treated if I met with interruption. I am happy in rising after him, only in the opportunity it affords me of paying my share of that tribute which I think his country does indeed owe to him, for his most resplendant services (*applause*)—services which are not only great in the line of that profession, which with so much honor to himself and benefit to his country he has adopted, but because he has given us on the present occasion, as well as on former ones, reason to believe that he will prove equally serviceable in another line. The only pretence on which I offer myself to you, is indeed of a different nature. I have been for more than thirty years of my life a most indefatigable supporter of Reform in Parliament; and was a Member, until it ceased to exist, of the original Society, which was constituted for the purpose of promoting that object, but which Society has so long ceased to exist, that its name is almost forgotten—I mean the Society for Constitutional Information;—out of that, after it had ceased to exist, rose the Society of the Friends of the People, a name not improperly chosen, and not unfitly supported by those who took it on themselves—but, standing as I now do, at the commencement of a third campaign, after two former ones, which have lasted almost as long as the siege of Troy, I cannot help at the present moment taking a line somewhat different from that which has been pursued by my Honourable Friends; and however unfortunate it may be for myself, I cannot help saying a few words which may throw some damp upon the spirits of the present Meeting. Although to throw a damp on your exertions is the farthest from my purpose, I cannot help being of opinion that those who undertake any task under an idea of its being easy, if they unfortunately find it difficult, will be too apt to relax in their efforts (*No! No!*) I will not detain this numerous and respectable Meeting longer than just to deliver my sentiments on a subject so interesting as the objects of the present Meeting.

When I recollect that about the year 1778, I first commenced this career, *and amongst the parties* with whom I first commenced this career was *Major Cartwright, who has* brought forward the Resolutions, a majority of

the present Meeting could not then have been in existence: and when I recollect that we are scarcely nearer now than we were at that time to the objects of the present Meeting, I own my heart misgives me. For this I beg leave to give my reasons, and for no other purpose than out of them to raise those arguments which may induce the present Meeting, and their posterity, if necessary, to persevere in obtaining the object which we have in view. When that first Society, from circumstances very sinister to the welfare of these kingdoms, had been dissolved, out of its ashes arose that of the Friends of the People, which laboured in their cause to the utmost of its abilities, and with the most fervent zeal. That Society laboured most assiduously to obtain those objects, and laid before Parliament a Petition which has been quoted this day, in which all the abuses, although in saying *all*, I believe I am right,—perhaps I may with more propriety say a majority, in which I am sure I am so—prevailing in the representation of the House of Commons were detailed with a precision and a force it was utterly impossible any, but those who were pre-determined to resist, to have resisted;—and I will be bound to say, that, whenever mylfriend who has already spoken, or any other man, may take upon himself to speak to the Parliament or the People, with a view to convince them of the necessity of Reform, he ought to take his steps, if he means to speak with force and effect, from that Petition which was presented by the Friends of the People.

There never was a Counsel, or a Special Pleader, who drew or maintained a case with more force of argument, or with a more correct detail of circumstances than are to be found in that Petition: and I only lament, that from the length of time that has elapsed since it was presented, (I believe, seventeen years ago,) it is now so difficult to obtain a copy of a document, in which every individual is materially interested. I know that without Parliamentary Reform, there will be no hope, for any long time to come, for the Salvation of the British Empire; and although I do not wish to praise former times at the expense of the present, yet I do not agree with those who think the present are the best of times for the British Constitution, for this reason, I do believe there never was a time in which the true principles of the British Constitution were better understood than at the present moment. But I believe also, that the over-weening power, not absolute, but over-weening power of the Crown, arising as it does from the extensive receipts and expenditure of public money, extending, as it does, to a greater degree than it has ever done before, since the British Constitution has ever been thought of; these are not the best times of the British Constitution. However, thinking that there is no occasion to impress upon your minds the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, I am sorry to impress upon you the difficulties attending the accomplishment of that most desirable object. (*Difficulties—none, none, none.*)

Gentlemen, I am perfectly convinced, that in so enlightened an assembly as this, these difficulties must present themselves to many of its most ardent friends, and that the cry of *None, none, none,* must arise from a zeal, from a laudable zeal; but I am perfectly satisfied, and I ought to state to you that it comes from those who have the least talents, as well as means of knowledge of that subject, and who are now in the same situation as I was thirty years ago, ardent friends to Parliamentary Reform, without being aware of all the difficulties that stand in the way of its accomplishment. It is now thirty years since I entered on this business—long before many who now hear me were in existence—and the points are so numerous on which I agree with my Hon. Friends who have preceded me, that when I state any in which we differ, it is with reluctance; but on the points on which I am now about to speak, conceiving that they tend directly to the end and accomplishment of your object, I am sure that no man, who is reasonably de-

sirous of accomplishing his object, will refuse me a patient hearing.—(*Silence.*)

Gentlemen, I beg leave to call your attention to the opposition you are to experience in the pursuit of this most desirable object. You are to be opposed not only by the power of Government, and of Borough Electors, and of Borough-mongers, but also by the corruption of *every corrupt voter* in this kingdom.—(*Applause.*) Do not flatter yourselves that all the voters of England are like the Electors of Westminster. Do not flatter yourselves, that whenever a set of them conceive that they possess an exclusive right of sending a Representative to Parliament, which right is likely to be trenched upon by your Resolutions, you will not find an opposition from them. Be sure that wherever you find a Borough more or less corrupt, there you will find opposers, and do not flatter yourselves that their number is small.—Gentlemen, it is not from corruption that you are to expect even acquiescence to your measures. Wherever you find corruption in any shape, there you are to expect, for there you will most assuredly meet, opposition. Nor is corruption the only source of opposition, for you are to expect opposition from prejudice also. There is a large body in this kingdom of very honest men who think differently from you and me; but, I am very far from thinking, that every man who thinks differently from me, or from you, is a corrupt man—not necessarily so, although, undoubtedly, there are many corrupt men who think differently from us. But there are many honest men, who, trained in the old school of politics, cannot get rid of their prejudices. From such men, although honest men, you must, for the present, expect determined opposition. You are to oppose, as the means of overcoming them, your own integrity—not through a detection of their corruption, for they are not corrupt, but through the medium of your own integrity, which may convince them, or some of them, of their error. To their prejudice, you are to oppose a moderation in your language, and your conduct; for it is by mildness of language, and moderation of conduct, that prejudices are to be overcome; and give me leave to tell you, with respect to the latter class of your opponents, you leave *Death* itself in your favour; for those who are your chief opponents from prejudice, are so advanced in age, that most of them will, ere long, be mowed down by his scythe; and you should take care to indulcate by your precepts, and to recommend by your example, the virtues of candour, mildness, integrity, and benevolence, in the rising generation. I have very little more to say, at present, upon this subject, except to caution you against another enemy whom you have to encounter, and from which encounter you have, in my opinion, more to fear than from all the others put together. In what I have to offer to you, I have no object of my own to serve, and therefore I am the more emboldened to ask your attention. I say, because I know, full well, that you have another enemy to contend with, who is more powerful than all the rest put together;—I mean "the apathy of your countrymen." Gentlemen, to my perfect and entire knowledge, a Gentleman whose name stands upon the list of your stewards on the present day, and who is prevented by accident, not distance, from being here to-day, I mean Mr. Fawkes, the late Member for Yorkshire, is not of opinion that the county of York is ready to follow your example, or to second the county of Middlesex in endeavouring, at the present time, to obtain a Reform in Parliament. I know another perfectly respectable man, whose name, when mentioned, cheers the hearts of all good men attached to reform; I mean the Rev. Mr. Wyville, who has the same feelings, and that, arising from the same conviction, as Mr. Fawkes. No circumstance prevents him from coming forward to support this great national object, but an *apprehension that the people of this country are not sufficiently prepared for it.* *Now, Gentlemen,* a sentence more, and I shall have done. Combat

your enemies by these weapons, and apply them thus:—To corruption in your opponents, oppose your own integrity. (*Applause.*) To prejudice, oppose patience, mildness, moderation, and benevolence. To ignorance oppose diligent instruction. To apathy, oppose zeal and activity, (*Applause*) But, above all, I conjure you to fortify yourselves with patience. If you apprehend that such a mighty measure as this, is to be carried by acclamation, you will find yourselves greatly mistaken. Your few short-lived efforts will produce nothing; but if you persevere, and arm yourselves with patience, that virtue will not fail to carry you to ultimate success and triumph. (*Great Applause.*)

Major CARTWRIGHT then rose, with a letter in his hand from Walter Fawkes, Esq. (of Farnley Hall in Yorkshire, one of the late Representatives of that County,) and said, I did not very distinctly hear what the last Hon. Gentleman said respecting Yorkshire; but I cannot concur in opinion with him on the apathy of the people of that extensive County, and I have in my hand a letter from the Gentleman whose name has been mentioned, relative to this Meeting. I have for many years paid particular attention to the County of York, under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. Wyville, with whom I have long corresponded. It has been the opinion of Mr. Fawkes, that the minds of the people in the County of York are not fully prepared for entering on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and from many other Gentlemen I have learnt that such an opinion is entertained of the sentiments of the People of that County; but with this important explanation, that the People of the County of York only delay the expression of their sentiments on the subject of Reform, until they see what is the conduct and temper of the Reformers in the South; and I find it to be the opinion of many men of talents and information, that provided the Meetings in this part of the kingdom shall cast forth the genial generous heat of the temperate zone which encircles the English Constitution, the People of Yorkshire will not long be behind-hand in their support; but that, if such Meetings should send forth the scorching heats of the Revolutionary furnace of Reform, the people of the North would shrink from us. I did assure my friends, that there was no ground for any such apprehensions, and pledged myself that the proceedings of such Meetings would be perfectly temperate and moderate, and in no instance suggesting even a wish for any thing beyond the Constitution. I have reason to believe, from the correspondence which I maintain with Gentlemen in the County of York, that that County will certainly come forward. I will read a few lines from the letter of Mr. Fawkes, who is one of the Stewards of this Meeting, from attending which he is prevented by a severe indisposition. He then stated, that Mr. Fawkes said, "that there is no man more sincerely convinced of the necessity of Reform than myself, nor any man who will more honestly exert himself to obtain it. The truth is, that from all the communications I have received, I am convinced the County of York is only waiting to see what you will do. A Requisition has been already signed by several hundred Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, and as the proceedings at that Meeting will be marked with the same temper, moderation, and adherence to the principles of the Constitution, that have distinguished this Meeting, I have not the smallest doubt that the County of York will come forward with the whole weight of its great population and influence, in support of a Reform in Parliament.

Mr. WAITHMAN.—I should not have presented myself to this Meeting, had it not been for what, I must say, I consider the extraordinary speech of the Gentleman who spoke last but one (Mr. W. Smith.) In many of his observations I heartily concur, but I am most grievously disappointed, at finding that he could not give us the least encouragement to stand forw

in the prosecution of our grand object—Parliamentary Reform. I should not stand up to contest opinions, did I not conceive that our cause depends on unanimity and perseverance; and it is only because the speech of that Gentleman appears to have a tendency to disunite us, that I now stand up. He has told us a great deal about the Society of the Friends of the People—that there were very able and honourable men in that Society, I most readily allow; but I should be glad to know, whether those times were more propitious than these in which we now live, for agitating the question of Parliamentary Reform? And if not, I should be glad also to know where all his great and Noble Friends now are, who were Members of that Society? I remember Mr. Charles Grey and Mr. Tierney standing up as champions for a Reform in Parliament; but I have recently observed allusions by the same Mr. Charles Grey, now Lord Grey, in which he seems to sneer at Gentlemen who take a leading part in the Question of Reform, and in which he alludes to "the crude notions of modern Reformers." It must be in the recollection of every one here, that in the most dangerous and desperate situation in which this country stood in the year 1797, these Gentlemen, and the great leaders with whom they acted, thought their attendance in Parliament so completely fruitless, and so absoltue a waste of time, that they all at once seceded from it in a body; and on this principle, that no measure in Parliament could lead to any good, without a Parliamentary Reform. That was considered as the expiring effort of the Party. On that memorable occasion, when Mr. Fox was particularly requested to attend on the introduction of the Assessed Tax Bill, which we all know was unsuccessfully opposed, these were the observations which he made on that day in the House of Commons;—"I can only declare for *myself*, nothing "shall induce me to take a share in any Administration unless the public "opinion shall be greatly altered in favour of radical Reform, not only of "this House, but of all the system of Government. If the country is to be "saved, we must recur to the pure principles of the Constitution. If there "are any bold enough to think that they can procure a peace, and effect "the salvation of the country without a Reform in Parliament, let them "try; but I will not make a part of any such Administration."

Now, when Mr. Fox and his friends did at last come into Administration it was imagined that the same disposition existed among the people at large. Many bodies in this kingdom addressed his Majesty, amongst which were found the Cities of London and Westminster. At that time I was accused of being a party man, in bringing forward a petition, which same petition I would bring forward again, because in that petition I endeavoured to do away all party-prejudice, and I did express a hope and wish that by the revision of past errors, abuses might be reformed, and the happiness of the people of England effectually promoted. I greatly lament to say, that however strongly I was individually attached to the Members of that administration, I saw not one of those great professions carried into execution, nor did any one man, in either House, stand up to give a pledge to carry such measures, as had been proposed before they came into administration, into execution. I conceive the present moment to be the very best period for bringing forward the question of Reform; and this conjuncture has arisen not from the efforts of one party, but from the abettors of corruption themselves; for I doubt whether all the arguments, or all the parties, in the House of Commons, would have opened the eyes of the people so much as administration have themselves done by abetting corruption. I defy any man, be his abilities what they may, to convince us of the total inefficacy of Parliament so conclusively as has been done by administration; therefore, unless I could see a better disposition, I would rather see a weak *and imbecile* administration than one of greater strength and vigour. But

have not the same apprehensions, that are entertained by that Gentleman, Mr. W. Smith.) The great and fatal, and only rock which we have to void, is intemperance in our proceedings, and divisions amongst ourselves. 'here is nothing so near my heart as that we should conduct ourselves with rmness and boldness; but that we should, at all times, let our discussions be overned by discretion, which is the concomitant of true greatness. I really elieve the former Meetings were designedly vilified for the base purposes of ursuing the—(Mr. W. was here interrupted by a dispute, occasioned by the ressure of the crowd at the lower end of the room. When the noise had n some degree subsided, he continued)—I fear that some persons have in- truded themselves for the intention of a disturbance, to throw discredit on he Meeting—(*" Reeves, John Bowles," from several voices*)—as was cer- ainly practised on some former occasions; for, I do not really believe, that hey were vilified by such means for the base purpose of supporting the old ystem, and for which service they were paid by Ministers. (The noise increasing, there was a loud cry of *" turn them out."*) If any such there are sent among us for the purpose of deluding us, or casting an odium on our proceedings, let us defeat their machinations by an example of temperate forbearance, and teach them that no art or delusive trick can check the progress of the grand principle which we have met to promote—Reform n Parliament, and in every other department into which corruption and buses have crept. (*A thunder of applause for some minutes.*)—It has already been stated, whether in the Public Prints, or where I cannot say (Cobbett), hat, among all the delinquencies that have been discovered, there is not o be found the name of any individual who has been known to be a friend o Reform, or who has actually engaged in the prosecution of that object; but o man has, I think, it is very clear, vilified those true friends of the British Constitution, except those who have found their account in it by some means r other. When the Constitution was said to be in danger, and that cry as made the pretext for restrictions on the liberty of the subject, and when ssociations were formed to support the Government, which was supposed o be in such imminent danger, *not one man* was found to *assist without re- iving payment for his services.* And here I cannot but observe, that I really nd firmly do believe, that, however the great leaders of the party to whom have alluded may, at times, have spoken on the subject of Parliamentary eform, they only supported that measure, inasmuch as it was an annoyance the existing Administration. The conduct of those who, once the advo- tes of Reform, afterwards became Ministers, is most extraordinary, for they ve every one, from the moment they got into power, turned their backs on e People. Such, indeed, has been the conduct of the present Adminis- ation, that even *Coventry* has gone so far as to censure them for their con- uct to Col. Wardle—(*Some persons here called out, " Ipswich."*) I was speak- g of Coventry. As to the Resolutions passed at Ipswich, when we look at e circumstances under which they are passed, and consider the nature of e representation of that place, they will not appear very surprising. But he conduct of Opposition is infinitely *worse* than that of Ministers, who have nly acted consistently, and from whom we could look for nothing else than what we have found—they being the *professed lovers of Places, Pensions, and Reversions.* Ministers have always supported these measures; while others, who have given the same support, have not had courage to do it openly: and whatever may be said by Lord Grey of the House of Commons, I am still of opinion, that there is no difference as to who are *in* or who are *out under the present system.* When we look at the disasters which our armies have encoun- ered on the Continent of Europe—in Spain and in Portugal—when w ider the successive failure of every plan, and hear a Party impute t miscarriages to Administration, I would ask, what security have w

they had been in the same situation, they would have done any better. When we look at their conduct and management, whilst *they* were in power, it is impossible to draw any such conclusion. What have they proved? why they have proved that Mr. Fox was at length perfectly conscious, that NO GOOD WAS TO BE DONE. Yet, strong as they were in talent, and large as was the proportion of family connections, and influence which they held, independent of the People, we never saw them at the Whig Club after they got into power; and, strong as they were, they found they were not strong enough, however pure their intentions might have been—for the moment they prepared to attack the *old system*, that very moment were they overturned. *Nothing*, as Mr. Fox said, *but a change of system can leave us any hope.* That system of dog-worn fortune is worn out, and

Either it must quickly end,
Or turn about and quickly mend.

The fact is, that Colonel Wardle received no support from the leaders of the party—they began to think that there might be some change—and we may perhaps live to see, at no very remote period, another Coalition. From all these considerations, I could have wished that when the Gentleman (Mr. William Smith) got up and talked about the Society for "Constitutional Information," and the "Friends of the People," he would either have made a recantation of errors in the name of his party, or that he had laid quiet, or that he had defended his conduct, or that he would on his own part have acknowledged his error. The exertions of Col. Wardle, whom I do not mean to flatter in the slightest degree, have been most eminently meritorious: but had he met with that decent support which he ought to have had in the House of Commons, the country would have been quiet—for had the House of Commons supported Col. Wardle on the late Investigation, I very much doubt whether a single body would have come forward to pass a Vote of Thanks to him. He was thanked, not in consequence of the triumph over the Duke of York, but for the oppressive conduct of the Ministry towards him, in the performance of his duty, and for their flagitious conduct in screening delinquencies that have been so clearly proved. (*Great Applause.*)

It is very remarkable that these men, whenever they do wrong, although it is with perfect impunity, they never know where to stop. These Borough-mongers, who represent nothing but themselves and the very few individuals who send them to the House of Commons, if they had had the sense, when they saw this system tumbling about their ears, would have at least shewed some solicitude, if it were even but to preserve appearances, and would have passed a vote of censure on Lord Castlereagh; but they had not sense enough even to do this, and fortunate perhaps it is for the country that they had not. Plain and evident as it is, how the Representation of the Commons of England is formed, with all the forcible arguments that could be adduced from these glaring facts, we should have made no progress without the great and powerful auxiliaries that have come to our assistance; and I trust that we may form a hope *that corruption will at length devour itself.* Whether we meet *here* or any where else, let but firmness, temperance, and moderation, mark our proceedings, and I trust that *our ultimate success can no longer be doubtful.*

Sir F. BURDETT gave as a toast:

"That decrepit, bed-ridden old gentleman, whom we have long lost sight of, called *Magna Charta*, whom we yet hope to see again walking abroad."

About half-past ten, Sir Frances Burdett, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Byng, Mr. Madocks, &c. retired; shortly after which the Meeting adjourned.

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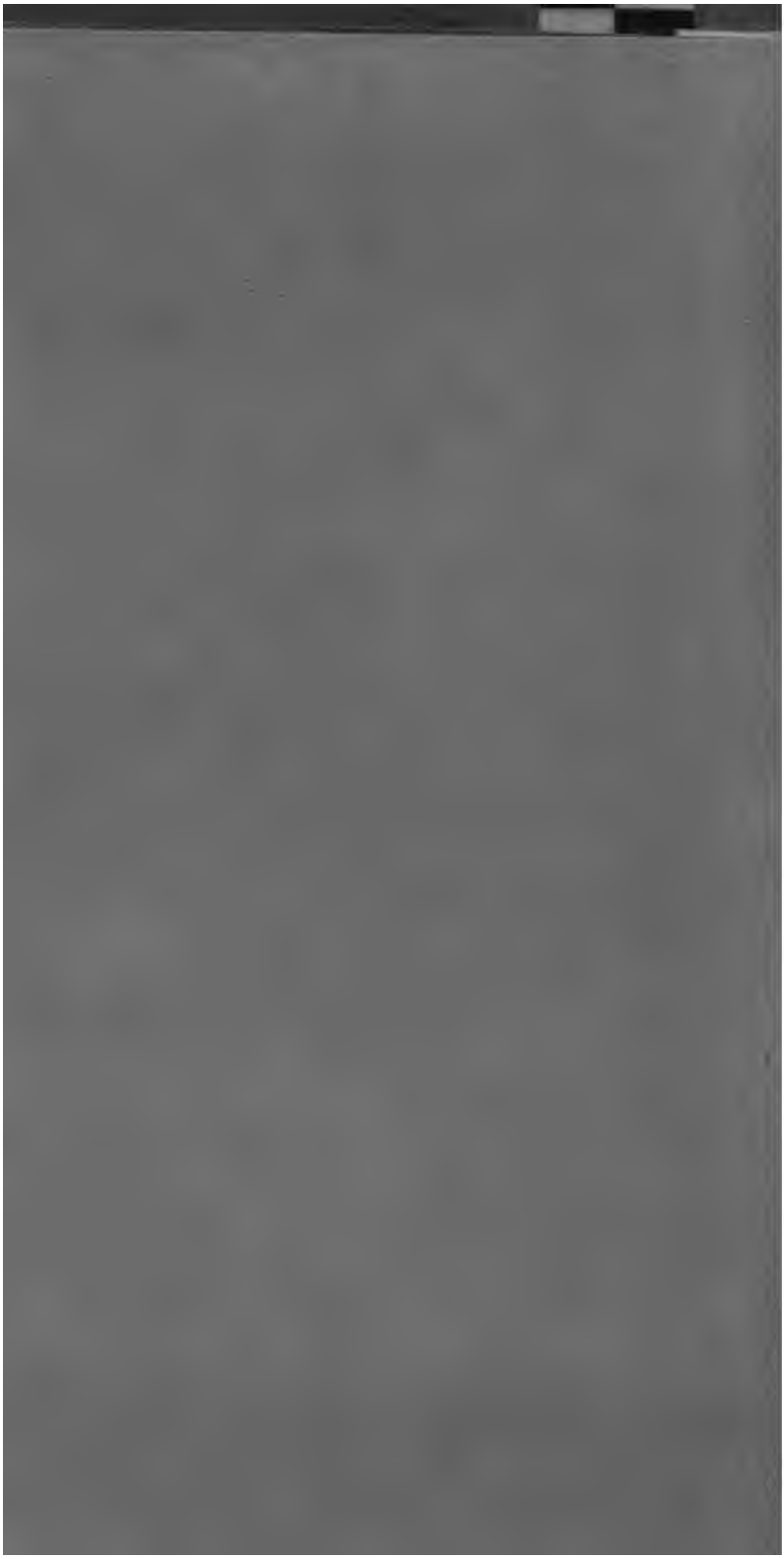

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